1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is then paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1938) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *murokor* (see below, p. 63). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *murokor*, or to a circumcisor. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *murokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *murokor*. The proportions is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men	Women
Making bee-hives	Building houses
Hunting	Collecting vegetable food
Trapping	Cooking food and beverages
Fetching honey up to work	Looking after small children
Making honey-beer	Looking after girls
Collecting honey	Looking after cows and calves
Making weapons	Making baskets
Looking after the flocks	Preparing skins
Looking after cattle	Making clothing, etc.
Looking after girls	Care of the children
Looking after calves	Circumcision (for women)

Children of both sexes help in tending and herding stock; girls help with the house work and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. The division is inherently arbitrary with regard to the first nine such activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping, and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

412 411 [437] 378 and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyogda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwisel* tree (*Grewia* sp.); it is about 3 ft. long, and the bowstring, *tuet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *bomdo*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenandet* and *mamsis* trees, or from bamboo, *amniyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi pattern. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow-poison is made from the *Acokanthera* (*arrowtoxicum*) *Schimperi*.

Baskets

415 [462] [524] 385 Making baskets, *kwoyet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sisiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *tapwanet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually spreading coil, of the simple over-seven type and bee-stop variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

[317] [462] [524] [385] 415 [415] Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tapwanet* (*acalia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1938, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *ewokwai*, is mixed with fat or ointment and for rubbing on the body; white earth, *ewoiniet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *kibanket* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 2 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of lions stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of lawn-tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

196 *Asista*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ejejyon pomyek*, "Asis, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Set*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *emanito*, a word which includes the *mik* (ancestral spirits) and *emamelumik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *kibosiet* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

195 *Divination*

[367] [524] [385] [385] The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sotonet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

[364] Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes and their arms and legs tied. Children about a month or *mokwanet* (*Sterculia* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the funeral, their arms on the right side with

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating cultivated grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*lotto*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipkelinik* (N.). Tobacco (*semetet*, N.; or *chepkwekitit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*wit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*sotheik-ap-ormoiot*, or *komdoik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical leaves called *kipromit* (N. *kipromet*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *sosiyot* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow cultivated grain (*ellusiet*[3], or *punich*; N. *pilli*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*aburiet*; N. *ingurdet*). Warriors wear skin garments of dolikoi (*ngomuengo*,[4] N.) called *almotiet*; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*kepitilio*,[4] pl. *mpitilokinik*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.[4] Old men wear hush-hush skins (*aburiet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ingoruit*?) are worn, of blue dolikoi skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*sotwait*?) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of *chuiwa* (*piriondo*, N.) or iron wire (*pairagat*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*akimwariot*) and *kwenkwein* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kwenkwiniet*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkenyeit*; N. *chepkenwit*) and upper garments (*kobiliet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron wire armlets and leglets (*mulkwenkwik* and *kurok*, N.), and wire necklaces (*pairagat*, pl. *mirageleinik*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkelenkwik* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] Pieces are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As in the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

[4] [illegible]

3:Huntingord E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kwiet (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string(laat, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (nemda, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[331] [334] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipukdyat*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chapilichgiet (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a shimade in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (simde). The shafts are made of the sawiyat (bamboo), mamita, and kwemamiet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (kwerik, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin simdin; the cock (sesin) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin simdin. The nock of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10)*sawiet* N.; *sebulgiet*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cord a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobos shooting with the bow, see H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins and are about 1½ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spirals cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*chokut*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*ngoiwet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(b) Leather.

201 Skins are dried and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, clothe and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called *sumbuet*.

415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipandet*, blue duiker) with a fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a

[210] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 10). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Smallbags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(c) Baskets (*kwogut*, pl. *kwogunik* (N.)).

[205] There are mainly the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright sticks the baskets are called *tegerik*; the cross straws, *sosik* (N. = *Plectronia rudis* gat). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Sometimes a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 8 ins., width at top 1 ins. (Text-fig. 11).

(d) Miscellaneous.

410 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called *kiswaiet* (N.) is used (Text-fig. 12). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis rackets fastened

262 [206] eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

[222] [462] Fruit of the *sinik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mumoyat*, *ximenia rigidia*.
Fruit of the *lemiyat*, *ximenia americana*.
Fruit of the *sesewiet*, *Musa ensete*, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinet*, *girardinia condensata*, nettle.
Nap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

222 Banana nap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the nap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very 252 poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*meiut*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

222 192 Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made 263 a substitute from the leaves of the *sapungat* bush (*zanthia integrifolia*), or [257] of the *sesungat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a [71] suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

273 Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little *chemtoo* beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkwonik ne kwonik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *ratwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), [124] which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kimyon [illegible] *kobolo* [illegible] *ne* [illegible]

[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I		II		III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Kamâ.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba*.	Cultivation — all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and looking livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows, boys with (if) they are circumcised.

So far [illegible] the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the four nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of nature; men [illegible] Stone-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away. [illegible] Mista, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to d[illegible]

* Applied to a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkomoron was at that time about 30).

While the areas within the hords are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Gradually, however, witchcraft is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepenkes, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepenkes himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkoreon, sharing her hut, and growing a little elevusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. Malinowski called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensible, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(a) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(b) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and timber.
(c) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, rools, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(d) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(e) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kaisut (*ndiva* sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Waasis: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwonsosiit: arrow-shafts.
Asaiyat (*kaatiwa*): arrow-shafts; intermediate used as water jars.
Kitoyonot: traps.
Kimaliwat (*cangiwita olidia*): traps.
Kolot (*senecio kilimanjari*): arrow-poison.
Lopolwat (*Ficus* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Mipsiyoyot (*ficus* sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Olarabis: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasaroit (*wild banana, musa ensete*): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tinetiwat: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Tirwet (*Ficus*): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

Huntingford R-S (1938-1939) 1953 PLA Dorobo PLA

waste it, i.e. as the bone and gets thin, a new end is shaved under the binding; the best is kept handy in a bag. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type, and two-way variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is then, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an iron blade held at an angle of about 30°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, satchels, etc. are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. Thin dikdik), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a strap for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins., but I have seen them as big as 19 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The system of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Kisuaili. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork, other things are pottery, finely tobacco, cured cattle and cattle and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were:

1 axe for 1 kaglet of honey
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey
3 knives for 1 day's weeding in the Government's shamba.

436 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 light of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large pregnant antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small pregnant antelope skin.
3 bushels of cereal seed for 1 basket (large).
5/- worth of trade beads for 1 gazed tidal honey.

The hog used as a measure for hony is the smaller size of hoops, measuring 7 or 8 ins. for 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gazed is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 30 ins. high, the well, about 18 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the well ever a duiker.

There are no special market places : places of exchange. The Dendo go to the nearest smith or pastor and rear a bargain, returning later with the exchange equivalent to collect the goos. There is no language difficulty in these transactions, for the Dendo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Kwafi. Getting loose pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or food they need only go to the nearest friendly Kwafi who has what they want or is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant materials of medicinal value, i. e. what they think is medicinal value, is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. Who Dendo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Naughton to the south, or else at Arowa to the Kwafi Reserve, where there is a subsidiated Indian shops. The men do not like both successfully to go to these places concerned, but occasionally some of the ladies were try to slip away unobserved to Arowa ; they seldom go to Naughton, as it is to the Europeans area.

No human group can exist without any form of co-operation, and even what a man lives alone, as he may farm among the Dendo, he is not because of that not all them or unable to see to the activities of his kith. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which gods normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building. 2. Planting 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation. (1) Building here is women's work, which mean will do if he has no wife, and for which he will get help from a relative or classfellow. (2) When people harvest gums they usually work out in pairs, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where [illegible] are strangers, as people [illegible] but though they are in the danger of being attacked, they accompanied by anyone [illegible] to give assistance. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own [illegible], he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules, and among the Dendo animals other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his fellow, so his wife's

455 the absence of pastoral and agricultural habitations and implements, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. Today it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

		Men:	Trapping game in the forest		
			Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Some: working for wages		
	Family	Women:	Preparing the results of trapping		Both
			Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.	Cultivation of shambas	
			Housework and food collecting		
		Children:	Washing		
			Hunting		
			Housework		
	Men Living Alone:		Trapping	Cultivation of shambas	Both
			Making things		
			Preparing the results of trapping		
			Cooking, housework		

Dundee life therefore converges on subsistence, with a hunting background, and seeks to view as the ultimate achievement. Even though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dundee (as OGH or Iraqi) had a fundamental unanimity in their beliefs as the ultimate goal.

5. Economic Activities

a) Hunting [1]

Honey is to the Dundee what milk is to the Fiadi. It is sold [illegible] and has a high retail value, in consequence of which certain rules exist to [illegible] honey. Enough for an elder may not touch on the same day that he has eaten honey. Enough for an elder may not smoke. After eating honey, one of the youth must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Amos White said, somewhat metaphorically, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so find or [illegible] honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect for the honey, both a food that it involves disagreeability the supply with fat, or else fear of a witch grabbing a spirit on the trees in honey

barrel, so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. We then take [B5.]
and what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and downside,
carefully extinguishing the fire where he has cracked the ground. Though
sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very
often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no
help but the extremely ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, the milk is the food [79]
it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the
people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels
and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really
no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees
provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some
importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey [84]
Dweller life would be poor and empty.

6. Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dweller men, and [B3.4
though they have had little men, confining their activities to trapping, they [B5.]
have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dweller walking through [B5.]
the forest centers on later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have [B5.]
already noted, they have what the French call *coutin*, which one might almost [B]
render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on
in the forest is something like this example, which I took down after hearing it

A. *Kalak ad Gnark.*
The bear of the mountain.

B. *Ina, ni [blank], [blank] in, [blank] in*
Look, there-is (a) the-hedgehog, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there
Wiwa, a [blank] [blank], [blank]
Good, but not much very, it-has-the-child small

A. *Cook [blank] Gnark, ad [blank]*
(They are) now there animals they-are-in our-forest, I-like (the things)
[blank] [blank]
which-are-of forest

B. *Tagamaana ahiak [blank], [blank] ad [blank] ak Ka*
Let-us-look over-there (on) their-tracks, perhaps there-is the-animal comfort, What
at ne [blank]
do this their-congregation-place?

A. *Ighlu [blank]*
Perhaps the-place-pig

B. *[blank], [blank] [blank], Tagamaana [blank] [blank] ak [blank]*
Yes, I-am there-(at) (it-has) there I-will there-is I-will there-are the-tracks
Ka [blank]
of-the-animals
and-then the-bone

A. *Tagamaana ak [blank]*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-me

...

...

...

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200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 6,200 ft. to 6,400 ft., through the main river, the Kipanzo, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kipalanza farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 50.24 inches over 5 years from 1920 to 1925: the maximum was 76.22 inches in 1927, the minimum 29.41 inches in 1922. In the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dondo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of fever trees (*acacia albida*), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwakiandi*, the dry season from October to March, and *Awa*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the new shadowcane hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dondo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1920 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and basketry; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and getting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

he found hunting on his own, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and hyrax[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*tukuny*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own houses, and a group

[1] The hyrax killed are:
Kiguekut, blue duiker (*cephalophus monticola*)
Mokoiot, red duiker (*c. ignita chapini*)
Kwemosit, bush buck (*tragelaphus scriptus*)
Sochotet, reed-buck
Kimpolet, oribi
Kiguemgwet, water-buck (*cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[illegible]

[redacted]